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CIA-RDP79T00472A000400010001-6

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5 January 1965

OCI No. 0333/65
Copy No.

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

THE ATTITUDE OF THE AFRICAN STATES TOWARD TSHOMBE

DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE
Office of Current Intelligence

GROUP 1
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OCI No. 0333/65

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
Office of Current Intelligence
5 January 1965

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

The Attitude of the
African States Toward Tshombé

1. Tshombé is almost universally disliked by the other 34 members of the Organization of African Unity. Under even the most favorable circumstances he could count on only seven of them to support him. Sixteen of the 34, although they recognize his regime as legally installed, cannot be counted on to assist him, or to take a public stance in any way favorable to him. The remaining 11 African states are either actively assisting the rebels, or solidly favor the rebel cause. This group--led by Algeria, Egypt, Ghana--has been generally able to intimidate or immobilize the sixteen "neutrals" and at times the seven most likely Tshombé supporters.

2. Tshombé is disliked for a variety of reasons. Historically, he is remembered for his leading the early Katangan secessionist movement, and for his suspected involvement in the death of Patrice Lumumba, the Congo's first "nationalist" premier. Most crucial probably is his image of "un-Africanness," that is, of being hostile to genuine African nationalism. He is viewed as tied to the white man, and a creature of the West (Belgium, the US, and the particularly hated Portugal and South Africa). His current willingness to use white mercenaries, particularly the South Africans, against the rebels, is galling to the Africans. So, too, is his tepid to nonexistent support of the Angolan nationalists. The radicals regard him as a block to the advance of African nationalism southward and to the eventual liberation of southern Africa.

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3. The attached list categorizes the 34 states in respect to the Tshombé regime. There are of course shades of differences in attitudes and intensity of feelings and actions among those listed in each category.

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1. AFRICAN COUNTRIES ADAMANTLY OPPOSED TO THE TSHOMBE REGIME AND ACTIVELY WORKING AGAINST HIM, OR WHICH SOLIDLY FAVOR THE REBEL CAUSE:

Algeria	Congo (Brazzaville)
Egypt	Kenya
Sudan	Uganda
Mali	Burundi
Guinea	Tanzania
Ghana	

2. AFRICAN COUNTRIES WHICH RECOGNIZE THAT TSHOMBE HAS BEEN LEGALLY INSTALLED, BUT WHICH CANNOT BE COUNTED UPON TO GIVE HIM ACTIVE ASSISTANCE:

Morocco	Cameroon
Tunisia	Central African Republic
Libya	Gabon
Chad	Somalia
Niger	Rwanda
Mauritania	Zambia
Sierra Leone	Malawi
Upper Volta	
Dahomey	

3. AFRICAN COUNTRIES WHICH MAY GENERALLY BE COUNTED UPON TO SUPPORT THE TSHOMBE REGIME DIPLOMATICALLY:

Ethiopia
Senegal
Ivory Coast
Nigeria
Malagasy Republic
Togo
Liberia

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